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1947

PALESTINE

File No. 147

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61859

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it are in contemplation) seems to be as doubtful in the case of Palestine as it has been proved to be in other countries.

6. Contrary to my first impressions, everything now seems to point to acceptance by the Congress of the invitation to attend the London talks. As one speaker (Dr. Grünbaum) said, it is sheer nonsense to imagine that England can be brought to her knees by the method of refusing to discuss anything with her, whilst others uttered a warning against relying on other countries (America or Russia) to take up the cudgels on behalf of Zion. Hard and unjust words have been spoken against His Majesty's Government, by many speakers, in the course of the last week, but there is undoubtedly a growing conviction that the only policy holding any hope of success is one of sane and realistic negotiation with the Mandatory Power.

7. There has been a slight storm in a teacup aroused by the observation of the editor of the National Zeitung that the three Jewish leaders released from detention at Latrun (Shertok, Grünbaum and Joseph) were looking exceedingly hale and hearty. This was interpreted in several Zionist circles as meaning that it was, in the editor's opinion, rather a pity that the detained men had not been beaten up or otherwise maltreated, and he was overwhelmed by abusive letters from anonymous and other correspondents. He has now explained that he meant no more than that there was a difference between British and Nazi methods, thus conveying a gentle hint that the abuse of England that has been rife during the Congress is something less than fair.

British Consulate-General,
Basle,
December 16, 1946.

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61859

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1947

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PALESTINE

E 148
6 JAN 1947

Registry Number

E148/147/31

FROM

C. A. W. W. E. R. E.

No.

B. P.

Dated

Barle

Received in Registry

41. (5/2/31)

20 Dec 1946

6 Jan 1947

22nd World Zionist Congress (Barle)

Refer Barle despatch no 40 of Dec 17 (E147/147/31) transmits further report on World Zionist Congress.

Last Paper.

147

(Minutes.)

References.

Copy to
- Request Dept.

273 87

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

4-60-
FORD

✓ Jun 13

(Action completed)

PS 12/1

(Index.)

12/14/48

Next Paper.

409

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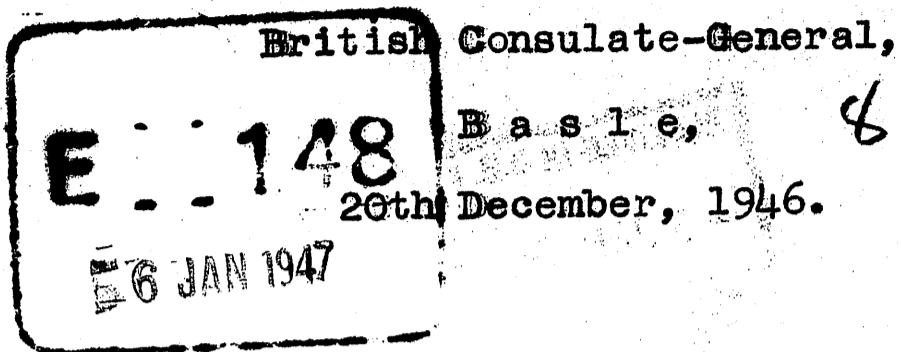
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Reference: FO 371 / 61859

W/BC.

By bag.

No. 41. /

5-2-33.



Sir,

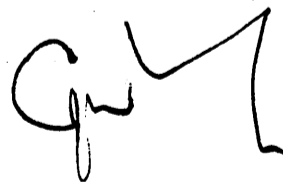
I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 40 of December 17, and to transmit herewith a further report on the proceedings of the World Zionist Congress.

2. I am sending copy of the enclosure to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Berne.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble Servant,



His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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World Zionist Congress.

On December 16, the final day of the political debate, there were four principal speakers - Silver, Wise, ben Gurion, and Weizmann, in that order.

2. Silver, in a speech which seems to have been well received, came out for complete boycott of the London conference, a radical change of leadership and policy and all-out resistance in Palestine, for which he promised the full moral and material support of American Jewry. The other three speakers all recommended attendance. Dr. Weizmann in particular was most emphatic on the point, and is reported to have carried his audience with him, though the possibility must not be overlooked that the applause with which his speech was greeted was directed towards him as the outstanding personality of the Zionist movement rather than to the policy which he advocated. He told his hearers that there was no sense in their shutting their eyes to difficulties, only too apparent, in the way of the creation of a Jewish State comprising the whole of Palestine, and that whether they liked it or not the only possible course was to pursue negotiations with His Majesty's Government with a view to getting as much of their desiderata as they could; and in this connection he made the scathing comment on Silver's speech that it was easy to advocate in the United States resistance in Palestine, but not so easy for Jewish youths there to pit themselves successfully against British tanks.

3. There is still no clear indication of what will be the outcome of all the oratory, much of it beside the point or purely destructive, that has been poured forth since the Congress opened, and it now seems

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unlikely that any decisions will be reached by December 23, the date fixed originally for its closure. But it is at least clear that the main points on which the Congress will be required to make up its collective mind are -

Whether there shall be participation in the London talks.

Whether, and if so, what change should be made in the leadership of the Zionist movement.

What form should resistance to the policy of His Majesty's Government take?

British Consulate-General,
Basle,
19th December, 1946.

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PALESTINE

13 JAN

Registry Number

E409/147/31

FROM

C.A.W. were

No.

C.G. Barle.

Dated

43

Received in Registry

(5-2-33)

27 Dec 1946

13 Jan 1947

22nd World Zionist Congress (Barle)
Refers Barle despatch 42 (E413/147/21) of Dec 23. Transmits further report on World Zionist Congress.

Last Paper.

148

(Minutes.)

References.

by G.O.
.. Research Dept.

H.B. 18/1

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

G.O.

F.O.P.

Jan 22

(Action completed.)

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Next Paper.

413

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World Zionist Congress.

The Congress finally broke up at 5 p.m. on December 24, after having sat almost uninterruptedly from 4 p.m. on the preceding day.

2. The main decision, on the question of participation or non-participation in the London talks, was reached in the early hours of December 24, after Dr. Weizmann had already, on the previous afternoon, taken his leave of the Congress, and had received an ovation on doing so. To outsiders it has come as a surprise that a resolution should have been adopted, it is true by a very narrow majority (171 to 154), declaring that in prevailing circumstances attendance at the London conference was inadmissible. The Labour Parties' proposal that the decision should be left to the new Executive, who should therefore be elected in the first place, had just previously been defeated on an even closer vote. The election of the new President and Executive had not taken place when the Congress ended, and has been left in the hands of the Committee of Action, some 80 strong. I do not know whether this election is to take place now or later, but there seems at the moment to be no violent hurry about the matter, since the Executive have nothing urgent to decide.

3. The following declarations of principle were adopted unanimously -

 Palestine must be incorporated, as a Jewish Commonwealth, in the structure of a democratic world.

 The doors of Palestine must be opened immediately to Jewish immigrants.

 Immigration into Palestine must be controlled by the Jewish Agency.

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E 413 15
15 JAN

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E 413/147/31

FROM

C.O.W. Ware

No.

B.G.

Dated

Basle

Received in Registry

H 2.
(5-2-33)
23 Dec 1946
15 JAN 1947

22nd World Zionist Congress (Basle)
Refers Basle despatch 41, (E148/147/31) of Dec 20.
Transmits further report on World
Zionist Congress.

Last Paper.

409

(Minutes.)

References.

Sydney K.O.
Research Dept.

743-187

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

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F.O.R.D.

Jan 22

(Action completed.)

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Next Paper.

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CANW/BC.

By bag.

British Consulate-General,

No. 42

Basle,

~~52-53.~~

3rd December, 1946.

E 413
10 JAN

16

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 41 of December 20, and to transmit herewith a further report on the proceedings of the World Zionist Congress.

2. I am sending copy of the enclosure to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Berne.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble Servant,

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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World Zionist Congress.

Not even the Revisionists have been able to stomach the behaviour of one of their number, Mr. William B. Zieff, whose proceedings and utterances have caused them to withdraw his party mandate. He is reported to have left for Paris.

2. On December 19, he held a Press conference of his own, at which he repeated and re-inforced the remarks in praise of terrorism in which he had already indulged during the Congress sittings. In the Press of December 21st he caused to be inserted, as a "communicated" item, the text of a letter stated to have been addressed to Dr. Weizmann on December 10 by Senator G.M. Gillette, as President of the American League for a Free Palestine, the contents of which he had already made known at the afore-said Press conference. Briefly, Senator Gillette asserts, or is said to assert, that the task of the Zionist Congress and connected bodies is at an end, since a Jewish State now exists "de facto" in Palestine; that the time has now come to set up a temporary Government of the Hebrew Republic of Palestine, on the model of the various Governments in exile set up during the war outside the national frontiers; that the Zionist Movement, re-organized on an inter-confessional basis, should pledge itself to give full support to this temporary Government, pending its replacement by a regularly elected, constitutional body, and to give all possible aid to the patriots in Palestine who are waging so heroic a war. Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Silver, and others possessing British or American nationality would not necessarily be excluded from such a Government, but should they be elected and should they

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accept, they would be expected to disavow the duties incumbent upon them as nationals of those States and to identify themselves with the Hebrew Nation. (This seems to mean that, whilst preserving their rights as citizens, they should themselves decide how far the execution of their obligations is consistent with their membership of a Jewish Government.)

3. Presumably the letter is genuine; there are various characteristic anti-British touches about it (a laudatory reference to de Valera, and to the "unscrupulous opponent" in Palestine); and its authenticity has not yet been queried or denied.

4. In an introductory heading to the published letter Mr. Zieff is described (by himself?) as a well known writer and expert in the sphere of International Politics, and the author of "The Rape of Palestine", "Gentleman's Tale of Peace", and other books. In a footnote, the American League for a Free Palestine is stated to have more than 140,000 members of various religions, amongst them 65 members of American Congress. The "Presidium", it is said, includes James Roosevelt, son of the late United States President, the dramatist Ben Hecht, and Louis Bromfield, the novelist. The Central Headquarters are in New York (25 West 45th Street) and the European headquarters at Hotel Lutetia, 43 Boulevard Raspail, Paris.

GM

British Consulate-General,
B a s l e,
23rd December, 1946.

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1947

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E 567 19
17 JAN

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E 567/147/31

FROM

C.O.W. Wene

No.

B. G.

Dated

Barle.

Received in Registry

(5/2/33)

10 Jan 1947

17 Jan 1947

22nd World Zionist Congress (Barle)
Refers Barle despatch 413 (E 409/147/31) of Dec 27. Now transmits text of speech of Dr Weizmann in closing stages of Political debate, considers this to be the most clearly set forth and logical address of all that were delivered.

Last Paper.

413

(Minutes.)

References.

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= Research Dept.

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(Print.)

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✓ Jan 30

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CVW/BC.

By bag.

No. 1.

5-2-33.

British Consulate-General,

Basle,

10th January, 1947.

E 567

17 JAN

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 43 of December 27, 1946, I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the speech delivered by Dr. Weizmann in the closing stages of the Political debate at the 22nd World Zionist Congress.

2. Of all the addresses delivered during the Congress, the reports of which, as issued in the "Congress Bulletin", cover some 250 foolscap pages, this appears to me to be the only one that sets forth clearly, logically, and with a minimum of passion the nature of the problems which to-day confront Jewry in general and Zionism in particular.

3. I am sending copy of this despatch and enclosure to His Majesty's Minister at Berne.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble Servant,

GM

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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22nd World Zionist Congress.

Address Delivered by Dr. Chaim Weizmann
at the Conclusion of the Political Debate on
Monday, 16th December, 1946, in the
Seventeenth Session.

When we look back on the events of the past generation, we see that we have been involved in a vast dispute with the world over the reading of the Balfour Declaration. We gave it one interpretation. The world gave it another. We read into it all we wished; the world read it otherwise. There is a wide gap between what we desire and what the world thinks we ought to have. That is why we have suffered all these years, and why we are likely to go on suffering for a long time. I appreciate that the position is difficult. And that appreciation is what my friend Rabbi Silver called: "Retreat, retreat, retreat." I believe him when he says his heart is heavy; I do not think it is heavier than mine. I believe that I have at least some small share in what has been created in Palestine, in that Yishuv that now numbers 600,000 - long may they increase! I also know only too well that, were they not in Palestine, many of them would have perished in the crematoria of Maidanek and Oswiecim. We know these things, and it is somewhat out of place to come here and argue as if the Law from Mount Sinai had been revealed only two years ago!

There is a force in the world known as evolution. It is with that force that we are working. And believe me, this is not said simply to find an excuse. I know this difficult and hard world. I live in it. I work in it. It is my job. It is not easy to go to the British Colonial Office, and get "No" for an answer. I should be content to let others have a taste of this, and then listen to what they would say.

At this 22nd Zionist Congress it is wrong to speak either as if all were lost, or as if all could be secured by insistence and pressure. Indeed, what is meant by pressure? Is it through discussion? Is it talks with this or that official? I assure you such action would produce no great change. Churchill offered his people blood, sweat and tears. I assure you that for us, too, there will be toil and sorrow for many years to come.

It is not only others who bear responsibility for what has happened to us. We, too, bear part of that responsibility. We are to blame no less than other nations. Some of you may have read speeches which I delivered years ago. I do not remember whether it was in 1923, 1924 or 1925 that I uttered a warning both to Congress and to the Jewish masses that time was working against us. I said then that not many years were left to us - perhaps not more than ten. I stressed that if we did not achieve something in those ten years, we should be faced with a long and desperate struggle. "Jewish people", I said at the time, "where are you?" Only now are they responding. Congress now represents two million shekel holders - a great achievement.

In the meantime a catastrophe occurred, of which neither we nor the non-Jews could have dreamed. We now face tremendous odds - odds which have to be overcome. There are times when the obstacles are too formidable for us, and we have to draw back awhile. It is not so much that we retire voluntarily, as that we are hurled back by outside forces. This is a natural process. Our whole evolution

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has been like a Catholic procession - one step forwards, and sometimes half-a-step backwards. If anyone thinks that a short cut is the Royal road to Palestine, he will be gravely disillusioned. I wish I were wrong. But the experience of many years has taught us that there is no Royal road to Palestine. He who does not wish to travel the hard way had best stay at home.

Complaints that we have sinned and made mistakes have been flung at our heads. Of course we have made mistakes. My Grandfather used to say: "I never make mistakes in the letters I don't write." Mortal men who work under these conditions are bound to make mistakes.

The idea of partition was first mooted in the proposals of the Royal Commission of 1937. In 1937 a new idea was born. And although the proposals were rejected, and though the Jews were hesitant, the idea did not die. It came - and still comes - up again and again. Whenever new circumstances arise, this proposal emerges. Whether it is tactically wise for us to make the proposal, or whether it should come from the British side, I cannot say. I am not a tactician - or if I am, I am a very bad one. I leave such argument to tactical experts. But one thing I do know: a practical proposal had to be produced; and if a proposal is not forthcoming at the right moment, an opportunity is lost.

It may not be known to the whole of Congress that towards the end of the Churchill Government, a Cabinet Committee sat for many months, concerning itself with the entire question of Palestine. They applied themselves to the problem with great earnestness and held a number of sessions. And they reached certain positive conclusions. These conclusions were linked to Partition - with the mergence of a Jewish State in a part of Palestine, perhaps in a substantial part of Palestine. We can discuss the details in the Political Commission. The proposals which the Cabinet Committee adopted, and which were to have been carried out died with the death of Lord Moyne. After the murder of Lord Moyne, these proposals were withdrawn. In the meantime, a change of Government came about in Britain. "There arose a new Pharaoh, who knew not Joseph." And everything had to begin again from the beginning.

I cite this not as an instance of a disaster which, having passed, no longer has significance. It is possible that we might have been one step nearer our goal if this disaster had not occurred. And when I arrived in Palestine a week later, I warned my colleagues that this was the greatest disaster which had overtaken us in the last few years.

I do not know whether this is the opportune moment to come forward with a partition proposal. But I consider that the longer we wait, the worse will it become. I do not think that we have lost anything by the fact that the proposal came from us rather than from the British. Nor do I believe that the proposal has been rejected, or that the whole thing has been called off, and that we can, therefore, begin to talk about quite new things.

My friends, the political work which we are doing is empirical. Such work is not an exact science, but based on experiment - on trial and error. We try. Sometimes we fail; at other times we succeed. I know what experimental work means. I know that one can make hundreds of experiments which fail before the final one which succeeds. The one which succeeds outweighs all those that fail. But if you do not experiment at all, nothing happens. Therefore, we must go on experimenting, without being deterred if things go wrong. Other nations, great nations, normal nations, have failed many times in their histories, without being /deterred.....

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deterred..... Naturally it weighs upon us more heavily, and our sufferings are immeasurably greater. But the fact that we suffer is no reason for us to embark upon adventures and forsake the normal course. By the normal course, I mean the path we have trodden in the past. We have gone the way - and I am going to say something which this Congress may find unpopular - of building, of laying brick upon brick and stone upon stone. These eleven new settlements in the Negev will, in my opinion, have greater political significance than a hundred speeches about resistance, especially when the speeches are made in Washington and New York, while it is intended that the resistance shall take place in Jerusalem or Tel-Aviv. We must stop being intoxicated by our own words.

There are hard facts which the most eloquent speeches cannot ease. For example, the area of Palestine is only 10,000 square miles. Would that it were 100,000 ! If Moses had led us into America, life might have been much easier. But Moses and Joshua stopped at the Jordan, and we have to suffer the consequences. Mark you, I have no complaint against either Moses or Joshua. It is myself I reproach. A small country is too heavy a weight for my puny shoulders. It would be easier if I had a large country. You can swim more easily in the sea than in a bath-tub.

There is one more argument which a Zionist Congress must appreciate. It is the argument that there are a million or more Arabs in the country. Where an Arab builds a house, a Jew cannot build; and where an Arab plants a tree a Jew cannot plant, unless he uproots that tree. And those who think they can are making a mistake. No one has said it here specifically, but it is implied when one says "We will assume authority over a million or a million-and-a-quarter Arabs and tell them that they are to have equal rights." The Arabs can say: "Why not the other way round?" "Are you afraid of what might happen to you in an Arab country? You will enjoy equality with us." Just as we do not wish to be a minority in Palestine, neither do the Arabs. Do you think that all this can be side-tracked by grandiloquent speeches ?

All this drives us to partition. Believe me, I want partition as little as you do. I too believe in what is meant in "It will come to pass in the latter days." I always tell my good friends the Mizrachi, who sometimes oppose partition with a "Yes" and sometimes with a "No": "My dear friends, you believe in God. The Lord has promised Palestine to the Jewish people. Why don't you trust in Him? He will certainly accomplish it. He will give Palestine to the Jews in his own good time; do not try to force His hand." In the meantime, we poor mortals, we simple Jews, do what we can. And what we can do is neither complete nor perfect. It may take hundreds of years before that which God has promised is realised. It may take more time; it may take less. That is the concern of the Almighty. It is not for me to question His way.

I have heard talk here to the effect that we must begin to orientate ourselves towards other countries. These are only words. Which countries? Who wants us? Who runs after us? Are there countries which implore us to come under their wing? True, it is difficult to work with Britain. I know that only too well, and I understand the difficulties. And my colleagues on the Executive know how hard and bitter it is. But I do not as yet see on the political horizon any countries eager for the privilege of building up the Jewish National Home. America is certainly friendly; America will help us. And I hope sincerely that this will increase and strengthen. I believe too, that the President of the Z.O.A., Dr. Silver, must take a great deal of the credit for this, as also Dr. Goldman. One should not deny this. There are, thank Heaven, credits in abundance for all. But if any of us think that America

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will quarrel on our account, we are making a mistake, a grave mistake. America and Britain will not join issue on our account. Nobody is anxious to assume the heavy burden and responsibility of Palestine, and I cannot see any other way but the road we have followed up to now. Maybe this is the expression of an outmoded liberalism; but I fear that the modern trend will lead us astray. I listened to the powerful speech of my friend Ben-Gurion about resistance. He said some would fall, but the others would live. I hope so. But it can take another form; many more may fall, and then what will happen to the Jewish people, what will happen to Palestine, if we upset the basis on which we have built this thing by our efforts and by our blood and toil? What will happen to the three or four generations of Halutzim which began with the Choveve Zion, and ended with the ships now on their way to Palestine? Resistance is indivisible. You may know where you begin, but you cannot know where it will end. And I know the Jewish people. Heaven knows I have no wish to insult the Jewish people. I have the highest opinion of them, and I believe I understand the soul of our people. I grew up amongst them. I was born in a place where Jewish life pulsed. Yet I know what the Jewish people - my people - is capable of doing. The Jews among whom I and many of you were born are no longer here. There is a new, great community in the Western hemisphere of America. Whether this has great powers of resistance which our fathers and grandfathers had I cannot say. There is no sin in doubting it. We cannot speculate. We must have clear evidence. Do not intoxicate yourselves with fine speeches well-phrased. I am sure that Rabbi Silver says what he means and means what he says, but he has not tried out his own Cleveland Jews. How long did it take before the American Jews began to understand what Palestine meant? Again I must cite myself. I was in America a good many times from 1921 onwards. Some of our best comrades in America failed there, and how long did it take before we brought the American Jews to the stage where they began to give money for Palestine, to redeem themselves? Even now we hear a great and important leader of American Jewry saying that it is for the Yishuv to decide who should struggle and where. "We shall give moral and financial backing." Moral, financial, and political support is precious little when you send others to the barricades, if you send others to pit themselves against British guns and tanks. (Here a member of the audience called out "Demagogue")

It has always been my misfortune to have to point out our weakness and to lay emphasis on the sober side of our movement. I remember how angry we were with the late Achad Ha'am when, in the honeymoon of the political triumph which surrounded the Balfour Declaration, he wrote an article: "Know ye, Jewish people, that in the Balfour Declaration you were promised a National Home in Palestine, and not Palestine as a Jewish National Home." And there is a vast difference between one interpretation and the other. We also read into term "in Palestine" the whole of Palestine, and the non-Jews did not accept our interpretation. They say it is a National Home "in Palestine", and if we contest it, they hasten to add the next day that this is not what they meant. I regard it as a mistake to provoke replies which set us back, and then complain that we have suffered a set-back.

Just a few words to my friend Mr. Sneh. I envy him. He is not burdened by doubt. To him everything is clear. It is clear to him that we can expect nothing from Britain. It is easy to say that, particularly here at this Congress. It is clear to him that the only line is the one that we have followed recently. It is clear to him that we must look for new orientations. To me these things are not clear at all. Sneh cited as an example the fact that as far back as a year ago there was a British Cabinet decision

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on the question of partition. If so, this is evidence that the British Government is not out to liquidate Zionism. I fear that the idea of the liquidation of Zionism has entered the minds of a section - not the whole - of the British people under the impact of the incidents, the terror, and the resistance in Palestine, - from the things that have occurred during the last fourteen to sixteen months. I need not repeat that I consider terror to be the greatest misfortune from the point of view of both the moral and political aspect of the building of a State.

I fear that terror will become the dominating feature of Jewish life, and even the Jewish Agency will be unable to control it. On the contrary, the terror may control the Jewish Agency. It is a cancer in the body politic of Palestinian Jewry. "And thou shalt burn out the evil from thy midst." I warn you, in my twenty-eighth year of active leadership, and in the seventy-third year of my life - I can say with Dr. Wise that this may possibly be the last time I shall be appealing to Congress - I warn you: Check the growth of this cancer. For if not, it will devour the Movement and the Yishuv, and will destroy all we have built up. That we must never allow to happen.

I have heard the arguments of Sneh. I fear them. They lead us along false paths. "Lo yu hadrech" - this is not the road. This is not the way in which Zionism came to birth. And if those who, turning to the portrait of Herzl, claim that that is what he wanted, I say it is not true. With what did Herzl begin? He began with a Charter - that was his first demand. And he hoped that in the course of years that charter would develop into something. He began with a National Home - which is somewhat more considerable than a charter. Perhaps some of you may have read this charter, outlined by Nordau. Dr. Herlitz knows it. He is in charge of the documents. That charter gives us not one tenth part of what is given to us in the National Home - in that "unsatisfactory" National Home. Herzl had been satisfied with the minimum. For he hoped that the Jewish people would be able to build it up into something substantial. "Tafasta maruba lo tafasta" - Don't bite off more than you can chew. It may lead only to setbacks, - setbacks from which it will take long to recover.

Someone earlier in my speech made an interjection - I don't know who he is, and I hope I shall never find out - calling me a demagogue. I am one of those who has gone through all the agonies of Zionist work. This man who hurled that epithet at me should know that every farm-house and every stable in Nahalal and every building down to the tiniest workshop in Tel-Aviv or Haifa, contains a drop of my life's blood. (At this point the assembly of Congress rose almost to a man in a spontaneous burst of cheering). It is for this reason that I have the right, I feel, to speak as I do now, and no impolite interjections will put me off; for I believe that what I tell you is the truth. That sometimes makes painful hearing, but you will listen to me. I warn you once again against taking short cuts, against following false prophets and will-o-the-wisp generalisations, and against the falsification of historical facts.

This is my temperament. I do not believe in violence. I was brought up in a liberal era which has vanished and is lost for ever. And we have emerged into a brutal period. But even though other nations may permit themselves brutal methods, I don't know whether we can. We often have quoted to us the example of Ireland, of the Boers, and of other national revolutionary movements. But one thing is forgotten. In Ireland the problem was

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much simpler than ours the Irish were actually in Ireland - all they needed to do was to change the administration and drive out the rulers. They did not have to bring in an entire people. They did not have to start from the beginning. This is not the case with us. We have to build and struggle, and Ben-Gurion spent much time over this thesis. How can we spend our time simultaneously building and struggling without the one obliterating the other? Let me once again quote a story from my grandfather and grandmother. Grandma had two sons with different vocations. Prosperity for one demanded rain, and for the other, frost. My grandmother used to pray to the Almighty to send down a "warm frost". My grandmother may well have believed in the possibility of such a phenomenon. But we at least should recognise that we must not rely on miracles.

Faced with a danger which - heaven forbid! - may destroy all that we have laboriously built up, and with a struggle which is unclear and ill-defined, I say this: We must continue with our work, no matter how trying the conditions. I fear that the whole of this debate will not make our task any easier. I know it. We are speaking on a public platform. "The notebook is open and the hand records." And when the future Executive goes to London or Washington, it will be reminded in a year or perhaps two years' time of the wonderful speeches delivered at the 22nd Zionist Congress. Everyone is well-meaning. But they speak as if to themselves, and not to the world. The world does not understand us. Therefore, I say to you: "Beware, and be warned", if you want us to make any progress at all in these difficult - or as Dr. Goldmann put it, these "brutal" - times.

But neither the world nor history are static. They change. We have known good times, and we have known evil times. We will overcome the grim periods, and happier days will follow. I may perhaps not live to see it. And if you have lost your faith that better times may come, and wish to secure redemption through means which are not Jewish, means which do not accord with Jewish morale, with Jewish ethics or Jewish history, I say to you that you are worshiping false gods. And you endanger everything we have built up. Do not be dazzled. Would that my tongue were tipped with flame, and my soul touched with the strength of our great prophets, when they warned against following the paths of Babylon and Egypt which always led Jewry to failure. I fear that we stand today before such dangers. Therefore, I must remind you: Go and re-read Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and test that which we do and wish to do in the light of the teachings of our great prophets and wise men. They knew the nature and character of the Jewish people. "Zion will be redeemed through righteousness" - and not by any other means.

B a s l e,
9th January 1947.

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25 AUG 1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number

FROM

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Dated

Received in Registry

E 7777/147/31

Exanary

Washington
200/356/47

19 Aug
25 -

Zionist Actions Committee Meeting.

Several Telephone Agency states number of American Zionist leaders sailed on Queen Elizabeth to attend Zionist Actions Committee meeting which is due to open in Liverpool on Aug 26. Among party were D. Helms, D. P. Neumann, D. Frisch and M. Fisher.

Last Paper

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References

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Y. E. 11/28

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

August 19th, 1947. ²⁸ EW

Ref. 200/350/47

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25 AUG 1947

Dear Department,

According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, a group of American Zionist leaders sailed from New York on August 15th on the "Queen Elizabeth" to attend a Zionist Actions Committee meeting which is due to open in Zurich on August 24th. Among the party were Dr. Silver, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Daniel Frisch and Mendel Fisher.

In a statement prior to embarkation, Dr. Silver said that the Jewish people in Palestine were passing through very serious times but he trusted that their tribulations would not long endure. If the United States Government would assume leadership at the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Assembly, when the Palestine question was to be considered, a new and happier page would be turned in the building of a Jewish National Home.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

Sh.

Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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